1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

As the villagers have begun to extend their activities and interests beyond Hsin Hsing, the village's influence on the lives of its members has deteriorated even further. The increase in activities beyond the village means that the proportion of their total activites and hence their involvement within Hsin Hsing is decreased. While the *tsu* continues to perform many of its functions within the context of the village, when its members—by necessity—become more involved beyond the village, even the *tsu*'s role must be affected. The still relatively small and rather localized Hsin Hsing village *tsu* have very limited influence or means to support their members in their needs and relationships beyond the village. And as the villagers seek to establish outside sources of solidarity and security, the *tsu* is even further affected.

The most significant consequence of these socioeconomic developments in the Hsin Hsing area recently has therefore been an even more rapid functional deterioration in the internal village social organization. This is reflected in the decline of the village as a community and source of solidarity for its members. Along with this there has also developed a growing independence of the economic (usually conjugal) family unit from the village and even from the larger kinship group or *tsu* as well as a relatively increased independence of the individual from the family. The Hsin Hsing villagers have thus found it necessary to replace the supportive socioeconomic relations formerly based almost exclusively on village community life and kinship relationships (*tsu*) with relationships beyond the village.

The progress of such cultural changes has been suggested throughout the book. Now I will particularize, and indicate their existence in the context of modern-day attitudes, values, and behavioral patterns towards the family unit, the *tsu* organization, the village, the land, education, and conflict resolution.

Traditionally, the joint family was idealized. Although it often could not be realized in practice, as an ideal it was very highly valued. Division of joint families into individual small conjugal families was frowned upon, and when it did occur—as a result of internal family conflicts born of economically based problems and general poverty—it was quite common to attempt to disguise the split. Often, only the smallest degrees of division were permitted as a means of alleviating the sources of strain between the conjugal units, and when eventually a complete division had to be made, it was usually only after attempts had been made to mitigate the causes prompting it.

Thus, although the small family was most common and the rate of family division was high, great theoretical importance was attached to the large joint family and was reflected in the villagers' behavior. In present-day rural Taiwan the rate of family division has not actually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

changed significantly, but the villagers' attitude toward it certainly has. Today, the individual small family is becoming the most significant unit in terms of actual behavior and values.

In Hsin Hsing, internal family conflict remains a primary cause of family division, but new forces place an added strain between conjugal units. The increased pressure of population on an insufficient land base leads sons to migrate to the city to work, and the increased economic value this gives the sons weakens the father-son tie and generally speeds up the undermining of the father's authority. Women have greater economic importance now; this frequently leads to delayed marriage. A girl upon marriage is thus older and more mature, which tends to weaken her mother-in-law's authority over her. And as the authority of the elders weakens, the tie between husband and wife is strengthened. Add to this a growing demand for widely available material goods, and we can easily see the potential these factors contain for independence of the conjugal unit, a potential which has undoubtedly had an important bearing on family division.

At the same time, the increasingly greater impingement by the government on the local area has created forces which further family division. The conscription of men, land reform, and taxation, all noted in Chapters 4 and 5, have made it beneficial for families to divide. While it is true that family division has not increased significantly, it is noteworthy that all these new factors added to the balance already weighed down by internal conflict have tipped the scales so that family division now takes place openly. There is little attempt to disguise division, and where the pressures of government impingement make it seem advantageous, divsion is almost advertised. The openness with which division now takes place might in itself yet become a new force of strain within the joint family leading to division; a habitual example can become a weighty model on which to base a demand.

The significance of such demands by the small family unit for independence from the restraints of the larger joint family does not, however, imply an analogous call for independence from their more loosely organized and less demanding large kinship group or *tsu*. This has never been the case in Hsin Hsing nor, for that matter, in mainland China generally, according to most of the ethnographies. The villagers continue to lean on their *tsu* or other smaller and less organized patrilineal kin groups for many activities and functions, since they are the only basic groupings with which villagers maintain continuous, uniform, stable relations. This larger group is the sociopolitical organization most likely to work in their and their entire family's behalf over the years.

However, the villagers also feel a certain amount of socioeconomic need and desire for relations with non-kin villagers and outsiders,

CHAPTER 6

THE LIMITING CONDITIONS

182 59 In terms of their long range effects upon the development of the family, decisions about marriage and adoption may have one of two possible consequences. They may serve to perpetuate the family's existence as a social entity, or they may bring about the demise of the family with the death of its present members. For example, a family with only female children may give them away in adoption or allow them to marry out of the family, thus precluding the possibility of descendents, or they may adopt male children or arrange a matrilocal marriage for one of their daughters as a means of insuring genealogical continuity. From the point of view of society, as it is represented in the institutions of the village, either of these two choices are within the range of social possibility. From the point of view of the individual family, however, any choice which leads to the death of the family line is not a real alternative. The motivation to achieve social continuity is as strong among the people of Hsiachichou as the biological urge to reproduce. To die without children and without hope of grandchildren and great-grandchildren is the worst of all possible fates. We must therefore begin our analysis of decisions regarding marriage and adoption with a discussion of the reasons for this concern with social continuity. We have here a motivation which enters into all decisions concerning marriage and adoption, and which immediately precludes a

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family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, cloths, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. He wants the security of a stable and permanent network of human relations.

The farm houses of Taiwan are symbolic of this attitude toward the family. In Taipei and in the larger market towns there have always been houses designed for rental income, houses for transients who may stay a month or ten years, but they are barren houses designed only for the present occupants and not looking toward the future. In the country, even today, when a man builds a house he follows the old pattern. He builds with a vision of housing under one roof a large and prosperous family of many generations. Farmers are rarely wealthy on Taiwan. Although they are just as likely as anyone else to try to implement their dreams, they do so with a shrewd practicality. Instead of hoarding gold or borrowing money to build the huge U-shaped structure that is to house generations as yet unborn, they build the base of their future, a strong rectangular building. At each end of the rectangle, however, there are indications of the ultimate design—an unnecessary door, a carefully made archway clumsily boarded over until the day it will open into a new wing housing the family of a son or a grandson. The rectangle becomes first an L and finally a U whose arms may be extended again and again.

That part of Peihotien that lies upstream is often referred to as "Brick House Place," a designation that has survived from the building of the first all-brick house. Before that, houses were built of mud over bamboo wattling and roofed with rice thatch. A family who could tear down one of their mud walls and replace it with strong red bricks showed a sign of prosperity; their continuing good fortune could be seen in the replacement of another wall a few years later. Now only unimportant buildings like pig pens or storage rooms have mud walls and all of the thatch has been replaced with shining tile roofs. There are mud houses left in the other villages of Hotien, but Peihotien exhibits its superiority in a rich display of red brick. Nowadays a new house begins in brick and tile.

The first step a family takes toward building a new house is to summon a geomancer. He is shown the family land and is expected to site the house in the position most favorable to the natural and supernatural phenomena. Evidently these variables are fairly uniform in a small area for nearly all of the houses of Peihotien face in the same direction, away from the river—sad from the point of view of Western aesthetics but undoubtedly well justified in terms of geomancy. Before

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

*593 592 their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was *593 561 [867] required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

• 59 354 312 In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

structure of their ideal is complete. Instead of housing a single, united family, the wings are filled with independent units, each with its own stove, each having broken from the main family at the time of a brother's marriage or a father's death. Instead of a large house, the structure can only be properly described as a compound, for in some of the older houses the families are related to each other only three or four generations back. Two families have kept the ideal after the death of their fathers. One is a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation. Before we left the village, however, one of the brothers had been transferred to a town too far away to return home more than once a week. His wife, knowing only too well how much business is contracted in what might be called Taiwanese night clubs, packed up her children and the furniture of her dowry and went to join him. Although the division was made with little fuss and continued good will, it was still recognized as a "dividing of the stove." The only family still retaining the eminence of being united under one authority when we left Peihotien was that of Lim Chieng-cua. This is the family with whom we lived and about whom the rest of this book is concerned.

Lim Chieng-cua and his siblings were born and grew up in a small mud house much like their neighbors. In time a good many improvements were made in the house, but the family really wanted a new one, not additions and improvements. Lim Chieng-cua once told me, "Before we built this new house, we had a mud house with a thatch roof. Every time there was a typhoon my father and my older brother's wife and I had to stay up all night to tie the roof down so it wouldn't blow off. Oh, how badly we wanted a new house! We changed two rooms of the mud house to brick, we had a good kitchen, a room for bathing and a big wooden tub for heating bath water. We even had a hand pump and hardly anyone had a pump in those days, but our hearts weren't satisfied. Now we have a good brick house, and yet every time I see a better house, I wish we had a better one too."

It is characteristic of Lim Chieng-cua and his father that when they built their new house it was not quite like any other house in the village. It was a traditional house and in every way worthy of respect,

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

If Lim Hue-lieng and his wife had married Gioq-ki to a young Taiwanese willing to enter their family as an adopted son and descendant, he could have provided the family with a future in the true Taiwanese sense of the word—a chain of descendants continuing for generations after the personalities of the present representatives are forgotten. Even if Gioq-ki and her husband had given one of their sons the Lim surname, obliging him to make offerings to his grandparents' ancestral tablets, there would have been some hope for a future family. Chang Jong-kuei, for reasons known only to him, was unwilling to give even this solace. Although he let his father-in-law believe that the oldest boy bore the Lim surname, he secretly registered him as a Chang.

The marriage of A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is yet to be arranged, and many childless couples have provided their link between past and future through the marriage of an adopted daughter. But times are changing; couples are making their own decisions about marriage partners; young men are now less willing to make the low prestige marriage that cuts them off from their own ancestors and joins them to someone else's. So-lan had little luck with Gioq-ki and it will be difficult to arrange a good match for A-hua. An adopted daughter's inheritance is always questionable when there is a "real" daughter alive. Due to her own ingenuity and the assumed loyalty of her daughters, Lim So-lan need not worry about support for her old age, but she must be satisfied with a pseudo-family that will end with her death. She no longer dreams of a house that can be enlarged to shelter generations of descendants—an apartment in a row house is her present and she has no future. If after her death anyone thinks to make an ancestral tablet for her, it will rest uneasily on an altar dominated by other surnames—a meaningless piece of wood, a link without a chain.

|2| Also note that this second type of bias is derived from a subculture of the elite classes rather than from the peasant masses. It is probably significant that many anthropologists who study China are known as "Sinologists" but there is no equivalent term for those who study the Zuni or the Nuba.

However, once a bias derived from the "Great Tradition" is overcome and reported in the literature, other investigators soon discover the fact in their own research This does not imply that there is any falsification; rather, that once the importance of some social fact is drawn to the attention of the investigator, he looks at its implications for his own research. This latter belief is supported by the fact that when ethnographies written before its recognition are re-examined, they often provide support for the new discovery through concrete details although the original author may have reached the opposite conclusion.

|2| Let me illustrate with the case of the Chinese
• 59 family. Almost all early descriptions of the Chinese family emphasized its nature as a large extended family unit. In a demographic survey of 2,866 farm families in China, Buck revealed that most of the families were nuclear and smaller than previously suggested (1930). However, Buck's report did not have much effect on the literature until discovered and reported with further data by

121 F. L. K. Hsu in an article entitled "The Myth of Chinese
• 59 Family Size" (1943). Subsequent to Hsu's article, almost every anthropologist-sinologist includes a section in any article about the Chinese family that echoes this discovery about the frequency of its small size (Lang, 1946; Lee, 1949; M. Levy, 1949; Gallin, 1966). However, one still finds many new articles on the Chinese family by others more removed from the mainstream of the sub-discipline which are either citing earlier literature or are citing quotes of quotes which still describe the Chinese family system as if the extended family were the norm. Before Hsu's article (1943), Fei had written (1939:27) that "the basic social group in the village is the chia, an expanded family." However, a careful examination of his data reveals that in his village the large family was rare. He calls it "curious" that "in less than ten percent of the total number of Chia [sic] do we find more than one married couple" (1939:28). In summary, Fei does furnish data which support the arguments for the high frequency of the small family size although he concludes the opposite.

121 For another illustration, consider the only re-
602 cently realised importance of the role of affinal relatives in the Chinese kinship system first recognized by Gallin (1960). Gallin's report stressed their importance at the level of the peasant sector of the society as well as the elite. Affinal relatives in China, in spite of a

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

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594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of family to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three households which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

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the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

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Table 7. Historical Changes in Average Family Size in Taiwan (1940 and earlier from Barclay, 1954:175; later figures from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968:787)

Year	Average Size	Year	Average Size
1905	5.2	1935	5.8
1915	5.3	1940	6.0
1920	5.3	1950	6.1
1925	5.5	1960	6.1
1930	5.7	1965	6.3

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In Stage I however, the "ideal" type may be any form with a tendency towards something larger than a nuclear unit but because of the high death rate, there will be few families which achieve this "ideal." The biological facts alone are sufficient to prevent its achievement. Thus, a vast majority of the "actual" families in a Stage I society will be nuclear no matter what the "ideal" may specify. Coale (1965:65-69) created a computer simulation model of family cycles with all conditions set to maximize achievement of unilineal extended families in a Stage I society, i.e., families would not divide unless both members in the senior generation were dead. Yet, these conditions only created an average family size of 7 while the average for an "ideal" of nuclear families under the same conditions was 4. Since we know that families do divide for a number of other reasons, even this figure would be rarely realized.

However, it is Stage II, the transitional stage, which is of most interest in this paper. In Stage II, the mortality rates are changing such that they would now

permit the "ideal" to be achieved biologically. Yet, there will now be pressure for a change in the "ideal" size towards a nuclear family because other conditions are approaching congruence with those of a Stage III society. In any case, we would expect both an increase in the average family size and an increase in the percentage of families that approach the "ideal" form in a Stage II society.

The above argument will be applied to Taiwan. The data in Table 2 clearly indicates that 60 years ago, Taiwan was a Stage I society, possessing both a high birth rate and a high death rate. Furthermore, they also indicate that Taiwan slowly changed to a Stage II society, which was achieved after World War II because of the falling death rate. Finally, Taiwan now appears to be moving towards Stage III as indicated by the falling birth rate. The figures in Table 7 indicate that the average size of the family steadily increased with the changes in stages as Levy's theory would predict. Moreover, Sanlei now has its highest percentage of families larger than the nuclear type: stem and extended forms total 50% of the families in Sanlei.

However, there are two other possible explanations for the current growing family size and high rates of families larger than the nuclear form. In a study of Hsin Hsing village on Taiwan's West Central Plain, Gallin

(1966) found that only 40% of the families were larger than the nuclear type. In both Sanlei and Hsin Hsing there was pressure on the land although the availability of yet undeveloped mountain near Sanlei meant less pressure. Additionally, the growth in population (associated with the falling death rate) meant that some people were forced to seek employment outside the village in both communities. In Hsin Hsing, it is often necessary to migrate to the city for a job (Gallin, 1966:210). However, the availability of work in the mines and the availability of work in the city within community distance means a man can work outside but continue residence in Sanlei Ts'un. For example, the extended family of Chiu Yung-man which is diagramed in Figure 6 includes four adult males although the family land holdings are not sufficient to support the entire group. The old man (1), is a full-time farmer although he has withdrawn to a large degree because of his advancing age. His oldest son (2), works about 80% of the time on the family farm and 20% in the family store run by his wife (3). The second son (4) works about half the time on the family farm and half the time in the coal mine. The third son (5), who is a full-time truck driver at a lumber yard in Taipei, commuting daily, rarely assists with farm activities. The family farm requires male labor inputs totaling about the equivalent of two full-time adult males and could support their respective elementary

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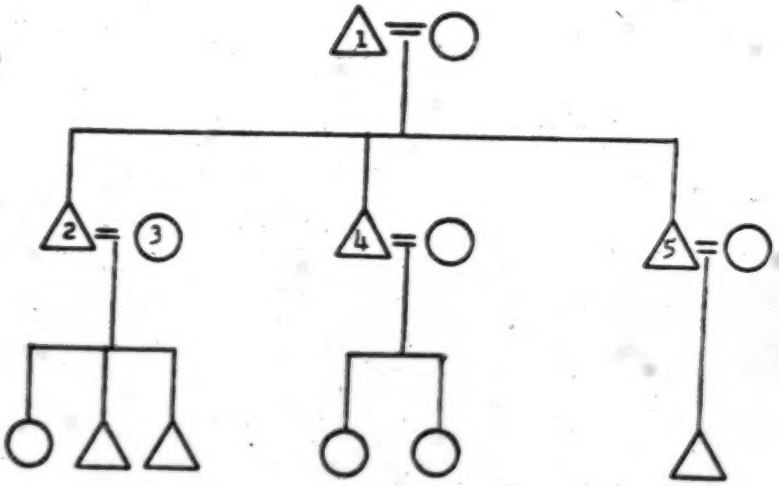

Figure 6. Kinship Diagram, Chiu Yung-man Chia.

121 families. However, the other employment opportunities
178 locally available allow this extended unit to continue
596 living in a single household. On the other hand, in Hsin Hsing, it is likely that the youngest son would have had to move to Taipei for work. His wife might not have moved with him, but given the fact that three adult males still meant too much pressure on the land, and that he had obtained a steady job with good wages, she would probably have joined him before long.

121 The final possible explanation is based on the im-
• 59 proving financial conditions in Taiwan.[6] Most accounts
178 of the Chinese family stress that the large form is related to economic well-being (Hsu, 1967:7; Fei, 1939:29, C. K.

121 Yang, 1959a:9, Lang, 1946:16). It may well be that
178 neither the biological explanation nor the convenience of
59 job opportunities are relevant for if the theories about economic improvement are correct, they may be a sufficient explanation.[7]

There are few longitudinal studies of Chinese communities. Gallin found a significant increase in material possessions in Hsin Hsing between the original study of 1958-9 and the restudy of 1966 (verbal communication). The strength of the theory could be examined by looking at the present distribution of family types in Hsin Hsing. There are suggestions that the theory of increasing financial well-being has merit for the increasing size of the family (Table 7) corresponds with economic improvement as well as demographic changes. The final support for this explanation comes from the neighboring village of Erhlei which was studied by my wife. In comparison with Sanlei, Erhlei is more prosperous although the average net worth of each family is less (reflecting the smaller investment in land), houses and material goods are richer and monthly income is higher. In both villages the demographic rates would have changed at about the same rate although Erhlei is making use of modern Western medical treatment to a greater extent than Sanlei. As the theory would predict, the average size of the family in Erhlei is higher and additionally, there is a higher percentage of families

121 larger than the nuclear unit. In another recent study of
178 a prosperous Hakka community in Taiwan, Cohen found an
• 59 average family size of 10.9 and 55% of the families were larger than the nuclear form (1969:161-180).

The above discussion of the family is basically a "static" one, a snapshot of Sanlei at a given moment in time. Even the discussion of changes over time is essentially "static" because it merely describes and attempts to understand the differences in two or more distributions of family types distinguished by time. Such a description of the incidence and classification of domestic forms is fairly standard in most ethnographies and has been called by Buchler and Selby (1968:48), the "Statistical Approach." They further suggest (1968:52-8) it is necessary to provide a "Diachronic Approach" in analysis which focuses upon the total process of development and change in domestic units. Although often omitted, such analysis is growing in importance and appearing more frequently in ethnographies (Fortes, 1949; Mitchell, 1956; Hammel, 1961). Some of the impetus for these studies comes out of sociological studies of the American family under the heading, "life cycle of the family." There are only a few studies of the life cycle of the Chinese family (Morioka, 1967:595-606; Fukutake, 1967:13-24). The life cycle of the Sanlei family, a "moving picture" so to speak, will be discussed later in this chapter after the

121 explication of jural rules, ideal patterns, and strategies
178 to achieve goals.
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Family Surnames

551 The various surnames in Sanlei are indicated in
621 Table 8. As previously stated, Sanlei was founded essentially as a single surname family and the major surname, Liao, continues to be dominant in both number of representatives and socio-political affairs. Counting married women as if they retained their maiden names, 180 people of the 409 in the village (over 44%) are surnamed Liao. Only 34 people (just over 8%) have the second most popular surname (see Table 8).

As can be seen in Table 8, the Liao are even more strongly represented among the chia chang (nearly 55%) than they are in the village overall. Eliminating married women's maiden names, i.e., counting them in terms of their married names, would result in an even greater percentage of Liao surnames (over 50%). Moreover, many surnames other than Liao are connected in some manner to a Liao family. For example, one chia chang named Chien moved to Sanlei some years after his eldest son married a Liao girl from the village and one chia chang named Lin is living with a Liao widow in her house as a common-law husband.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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Inheritance, real or anticipated in the case of division before the death of parents, is equal for all sons (with exceptions to be discussed later). Diagrammed in Figure 9 is a patrilineal descent group which we will assume represents a single chia with division about to occur. Conceivably, division could produce various combinations of new chia but in Sanlei, the actual division will nearly always produce three new units: (2,5), (3,6), and (4), each unit receiving an equal share. Variations reflect the condition of (1) or (4). (1) may be attached to one of the three units; (1) may constitute a separate unit with an equal or partial share to be later split again after his death; or (1) may be a separate unit with no share but supported by the other three on a rotating basis. If (4) is unmarried, he may be attached, with his share, to one of the first two groups with a strong tendency for the parents to remain with the youngest son (4).

Almost always, a division focuses on one generational level only. That is, (5) or (6) never break off into distinct units at the time (2), (3) and (4) are dividing. It is possible that (2) and (5) could break off as a single unit and leave the rest of the original family as a whole, but this never takes place. If (2) insists on breaking off, the whole family will divide into the three units posited above although if only (2) is insistent, there may be above average amounts of bitterness generated.

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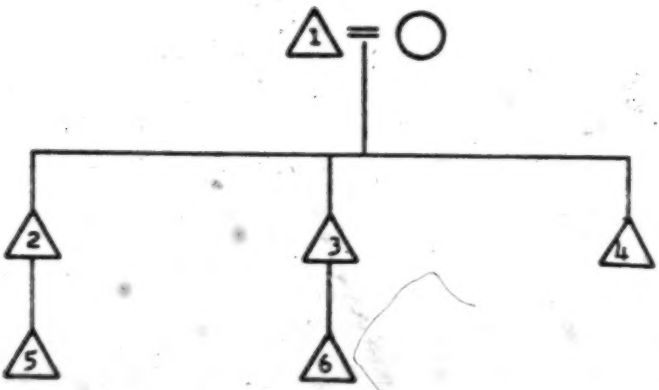

Figure 9. Kinship Diagram, Patrilineal Descent Group

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561 At the beginning of this discussion related to Figure 9, exceptions to equal inheritance were mentioned. In addition to the variation just described for the senior generation, there is one for the junior generation. In the junior generation, only (5), the oldest son's oldest son, receives a share but it is not the equal of the others. It is often quite minor, varying for individual cases, but everyone in the village agrees that this individual should have something in spite of the fact his siblings and cousins receive nothing. This boy also has special ritual requirements for his grandfather's funeral, i.e., he wears the mourning clothes of a son instead of the mourning clothes of a grandson.

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59 Inheritance would be about the same as the above description for division. Assuming the old man (1) dies,

the Sanlei family will inevitably divide into the three units described above, i.e., (2,5), (3,6), and (4).

The major original defining characteristic of the household (hu) was those who cook and eat together. Family division frequently appears to revolve around this function. It would appear that if a household divided in half, the two new units could cook and eat separately but continue to share a single stove, but this never occurs. A new stove must be constructed; hopefully, the stove will be in a separate room but if space is not available, a second stove will be built in the original kitchen. Each new household will then share the kitchen but use their own stove. A popular method of referring to family division is to call it "the separation of the stove" (see Glossary C). To refer back to the previous discussion, in a divided family with the old folks alive, they will never have a separate stove. They either eat in turn with each new unit or eat regularly with one unit while the others contribute food.

Basis for a Diachronic Approach to the Family

The foregoing has provided both a static view of the distribution of family types in the village and an explanation of various mechanisms which affect its membership and existence: birth, marriage, adoption, and division. I now propose a dynamic view of the family life cycle designed to reveal the major patterns in the village. In other

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

121 words, rather than a series of snapshots, there is an at-
182 tempt to provide a moving picture. This mode of analysis
602 • 59 draws heavily on the concepts presented by Buchler and Selby (1968:52-58) which combine both jural rules and statistics. Built into the analysis are the constraints of demographic factors, specifically birth rates, death rates, and age at marriage.

Although the number of stages in the life cycles of families identified in various societies differ considerably,[10] Fortes (1962:2-5) has suggested that the developmental cycle in the domestic group may follow the general paradigm listed below:

1. Phase of Expansion: Offspring are economically, effectively, and jurally dependent on their parents.
2. Phase of Dispersion or Fission: Marriage of the first child until marriage of the last.
3. Phase of Replacement: Until death of both parents.

This general paradigm will be followed for Sanlei village without any attempts at further proliferation of stages.

Postulates Affecting the Family Life Cycle

Additionally, I have derived the following set of what might be called a combination of rules, beliefs, and cultural values bearing on the family which must be taken into consideration in the analysis of family life cycle patterns in Sanlei village. There is no attempt to be

121 complete, let alone exhaustive, as my selective criteria
182 were merely based on those items that seemed immediately
602 necessary for the analysis. A label under which they can
59 all be subsumed is not at my command, but they are similar to what have been labeled postulates (Hsu, 1969; Hoebel, 1960). The truth of these items would be generally accepted by most villagers. (The exceptions are illustrated later.) The items will hereafter be identifed only by a number in parentheses.

[969] (1) It is necessary that a family obtain descendants to carry on worship of the ancestors. Worship of ancestors should be specific for approximately five generations above the oldest living member but may be general beyond that.

[969] [562] (2) Worship of an ancestor is best performed by a male with the same surname.

[611] (3) Descent is patrilineal and surnames are obtained from a child's father.

[424] (4) Males may assign their rights to give children their surnames to others.

[597] (5) An adopted child is almost the equivalent of a natural child.

[596] (6) The large extended family, ta chia ting, is best economically, morally, and ritually.

[577] (7) Relations should be harmonious within a household.

[578] (8) The larger the group the more likely there will be disharmony.

(9) The individual is subordinate to the family of which he is a part.

(10) Nevertheless, each person is an individual with his own personal qualities and idiosyncracies and rules for behavior must be flexible so he can meet them.

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(11) Respect and obedience are due from younger generations to older generations.

[561] (12) Respect and obedience are due from younger people to older people but in lesser amounts than that due between generations.

[562] (13) Respect and obedience are due from females to males.

[602] (14) People who are related consanguineally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related.

[602] (15) People who are related affinally can maintain more harmonious relations than people who are not related at all.

[578] [562] (16) Females naturally have more quarrels with other females than do males with males.

[737] (17) It is the responsibility of an individual's descendants to care for him in his old age and having descendants is the only protection for old age.

[889] (18) Both a child and a person beyond age sixty are something less than a mature and responsible adult and not capable of properly representing the family or making the best decisions.

A preliminary analysis quickly reveals that some of these items are in direct conflict with others and that operationally, some principles may be in conflict with others. Moreover, the ranking of the items is not fixed or clear. For example, there is no conflict generated in terms of (11), (12), and (13) when a grandfather interacts with his granddaughter. However, there is conflict for the same items in the case of a woman and her son-in-law, i.e., (11) and (12) declare her superordinate and (13) subordinate. This latter example may indicate why there are more conflicts in a household containing an adopted-in husband.

121 182 606 59 As indicated in Figure 10, in the case of the regular marriage, the relationships between the senior generation and the incoming spouse are consistent or neutral in assignment of subordination in terms of (11), (12), and (13). Conversely, for the adopted-in husband household, there is a conflict in the same rules as previously specified, with reference to the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law. This latter case could also occur between mother and son in the regular household but several years of living together when the son was extremely dependent would probably have produced an adjustment.

121 182 838 51 Another item, (18), produces another kind of disagreement. There is a belief for example that a man older than sixty should withdraw from active control of his family and turn management over to his son who is now capable of better decisions (18). In the same conversation, villagers will claim that vigorous men over 60 are the best office holders and mediators for they have the experience to make the wisest decisions.

Family Life Cycles

182 59 The above postulates are combined with the analytical techniques explained in the previous section to illustrate the family cycle in Sanlei Ts'un. For simplification, assume the starting unit is a young married couple living alone in a single village household. Although this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 290]

182 situation is relatively rare, it is useful analytically
• 59 for a starting point and once completely described, the life cycle can be viewed as an endless chain. Phase I, the Phase of Expansion continues until the first child is married. The first several years in the existence of the household may produce a variety of forms such as those listed below:

A. The couple would meet the typical ideal minimal goal maintained by most villagers and have three boys and two girls and raise all to maturity, complying with all the above items.

B. The couple would have only one boy but perhaps one or more girls and raise the boy to maturity, also complying with all the above items except perhaps (6).

C. The couple would have no boys but one or more girls who live to maturity potentially violating (6) and (17) and surely violating (1) and (2).

D. The couple would have no children, violating (1), (2), (6), and (17).

E. The couple would be divorced or either mate would die, in either case without offspring, violating the same items as in Case D.

There are culturally provided solutions for each of the above potential violations. For case B and C, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) and/or have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for one or more of the girls. For case D, it is possible to adopt a boy (5) or one or more girls (5) and have adopted-in husbands (4) and (5) for the adopted girls. In the case of E, without offspring, either remarriage is possible or the solutions advanced for D. Note

182 that in Phase I, the Phase of Expansion, all the families
e 59 listed above would be nuclear.

Phase II, the Phase of Dispersion or Fission, occurs during the period from the marriage of the first child until the marriage of the last. In accordance with (1), (6), and (17), it would be best if children, as they married brought in their spouses to live in the parents home with (2) and (3) requiring that male offspring especially bring in their spouses. Consequently, if there are no males in the family, it is necessary that no less than one female bring in a husband and in this case, that there be a possibility of producing a child in the succeeding generation with the original surname. In accordance with the requirements of (2) and (3) and because of (4), this condition can be met and often is met by the local practice of an adopted-in husband who permits one or more of his children to be assigned his wife's original surname. The A case above, which does not violate most postulates, would have seldom been realized in Sanlei due to death rates. Demonstrated in Figure 11 are various ways in which each of the five types (A, B, C, D, E) may become a stem family. Of course it is also possible that any stem family could become a regular extended family which is highly probable for A in particular.

However, an extended family is unlikely to come into existence because of demographic factors, i.e., two

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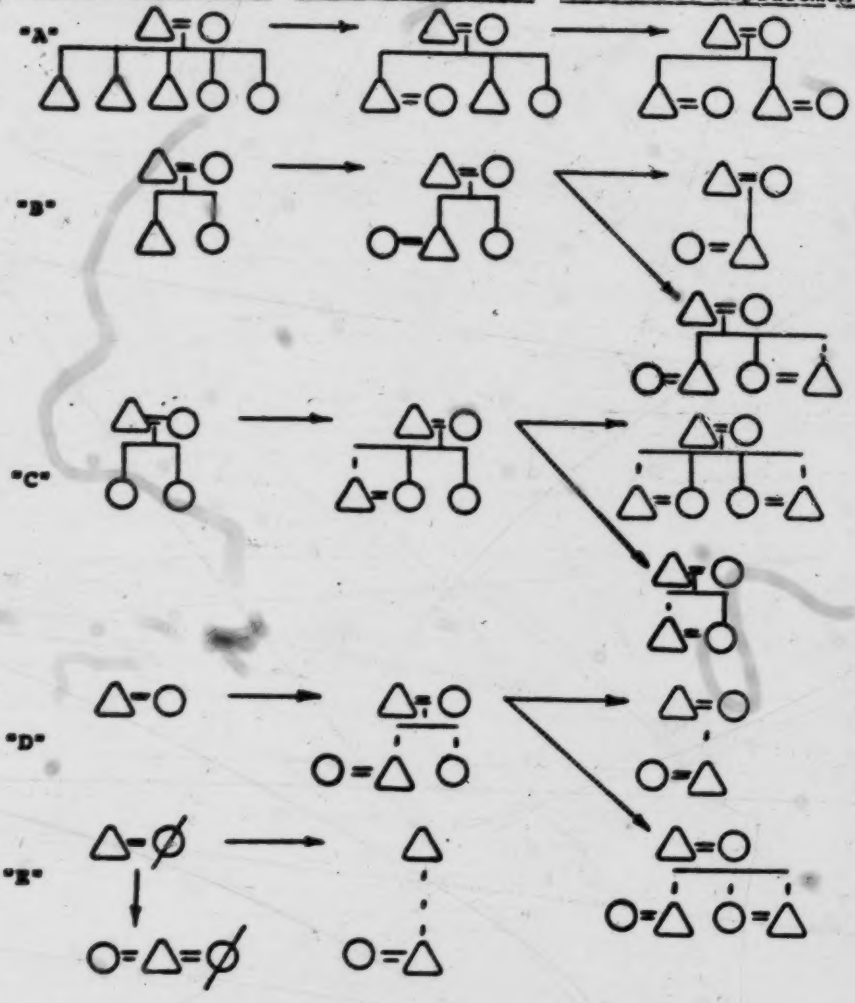

Note: This is a sample only and favors development of more complex forms. Any unit may divide or die off before achievement of column 3 and thereby revert back to column 1.

Figure 11. Sample of Family Life Cycle Stages in Sanlei

182 males must marry while at least one parent remains alive.
• 59 As indicated, other processes could create extended families, but these too are unlikely. Adopting boys is extremely expensive and although adopted-in husbands may be acquired for natural or adopted daughters, it would take a reasonably wealthy household to attract two men.

Nevertheless, an extended family is realized with some degree of regularity, but seldom is an extended family maintained for other factors are relevant. For example, there is the recognition of man's individuality (10) but he is supposedly subordinate to the family (9), a potential and frequent conflict. In the larger family, it is difficult to maintain the harmony that is expected (7) because of the belief that the large group naturally has more problems (8); there are more females who naturally fight with each other (16); and finally, many members are only affines, a stronger source of conflict than consanguines (14) and (15). It may very well be the case that these three causes are part of a self-fulfilling prophesy, i.e., it is believed there should be problems, so there are.

Yet, while the senior generation male is active and in control, a continued undivided existence is possible. However, as he approaches and passes age 60, he ceases to be regarded as an effective adult, often withdrawing willingly from the responsibility (18). This withdrawal is

182 usually delayed as long as there is one unmarried child
• 59 in the household, particularly if the child is male (18). In accordance with age emphasis (12), control should pass to the oldest son. However, the degree of respect due older siblings (12) does not often appear strong enough to overcome the other centrifugal forces. It seemingly takes the increment of respect due between generations (11) to overcome these centrifugal forces and even that is rarely sufficient. In Sanlei, there was only one ta chia ting with two males in the senior generation but this was an odd case, one brother's wife had deserted him (the family was discussed in connection with Figure 8). M. Wolf (1968) also found one ta chia ting in Hotien that had two males in the senior generation, but she too felt the situation sufficiently unusual to justify the occurrence as a special case in special circumstances.

Upon the death of the male chia chang, or at his withdrawal from active control, if all sons are married, it is almost certain there will be family division. However, care for the aged by a man's descendants (17) is so important that seldom will division occur if there is only one male in the younger generation. If there are several sons and a division takes place, it is likely that the old parents will remain with one son united in a stem family.

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• 59 Phase III, the Phase of Replacement, lasts until the death of both parents. Given the high death rates, this stage may have been realized before any child is married. It does seem usual that the last of the old parents die while living in a home with one married descendant and perhaps, some grandchildren. An old couple with more than one married son usually prefers living in the home of the youngest but there is no cultural norm specifying the youngest son. I would suggest the following factors favor the youngest. Relations between a male and his first-born son are formal and harsh in Sanlei although parents seemingly develop greater skill in child-rearing with practice. The last child is often a family pet, babied by others, while both mother and father put less pressure on the youngest to succeed. The last child has been forced to adjust to older siblings (12) and has likely developed greater skills in smooth interpersonal relations. The end of Stage III produces one or more Stage I families and we are back at the beginning of the cycle. Note however, that the Stage I family is actually likely to already include children at its inception.

To summarize this explication of family cycles, note that with the historical demographic rates, it appears that a large number of people will be living in nuclear households at any given moment in time, as indicated by the 40% figure realized through the statistical approach (Table 6).

182 An examination of the situation from the point of view of
• 59 an individual actor suggests that the stem family is the most common form in Sanlei with the occasional appearance of an extended family. Indeed, almost every person beyond 60 years of age in the village is living in a unit larger than the nuclear family. I collected thirteen fairly extensive life histories (not a random sample of villagers) and in all thirteen, the subjects spent part of their lives in something larger than a nuclear household.

182 It can also be seen that adoption, marriage, and
183 descent events represent an attempt to realize cultural
59 values. Almost all villagers agree that the two most important items in the eighteen previously listed are those with reference to worship of ancestors (1) and the care for the aged (17). These can best be realized by getting married and having several male children who, in turn, marry and have male children. However, since this will often not be biologically possible, the various mechanisms discussed above provide alternative solutions. In place of natural sons are adopted sons or adopted-in husbands for natural daughters with shared offspring. There are even adopted daughters as substitutes for natural daughters in order to later adopt in a husband. Finally, the adoption of a daughter as <u>siaosiv</u> is both an attempt to acquire descendants in spite of the high cost of marriage and further, to promote the harmonious relations within a household

182 necessary to maintain an extended family. These processes
183 are a rational application of permitted alternatives to
59 achieve culturally defined goals.

The improvement of economic conditions, the rapidly changing demographic rates, and the changing values originating from the larger modernizing society are undoubtedly going to change the typical family life cycles previously described.

The Basis of Extra-Familial Kinship Organizations

121 Families are building blocks in the larger kinship
618 units, the clan and the tsu (lineage). The clan consists
613 of people who have the same surname and are therefore assumed to have descended from the same ancestor although the genealogical details are unknown. Fried (1957; 1966) has referred to this assumption as "stipulated descent" and contrasted it with the foundation for the lineage, "demonstrated descent," where the exact details of genealogical connections are known. There are a number of border situations found in Sanlei Ts'un which are difficult to place in either category.

618 Usually a surname was said to be established by some particular historical individual from whom generations are numbered such that most people know the number of their own generation. It is assumed then that although two individuals with the same surname may not know which is the most recent generational ancestor they share, i.e., eighth